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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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IN THIS ISSUE

May, 1954

COVER

Jean Green, one of the top membership producers in the 1953 membership campaign of the Toledo, Ohio, NAACP branch, was elected to serve, with Nelson Bolden, as co-chairman of the branch's 1954 membership campaign, April 26-May 24, 1954.

SOUTHERN NEGROES AT THE BALLOT BOX—*By Herbert Hill* 261
BROTHERHOOD—A NEW DAY IN THE SOUTH—
By George C. Anderson 268
PARLIAMENTARY REPORT ON KENYA—*By George Padmore* 273
ONLY HAPPENS IN MAKE BELIEVE—*By Ernest M. Davis* 281

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 279
LOOKING AND LISTENING 285
INVESTORS IN FREEDOM 288
LIFE MEMBERS 290
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 292
BRANCH NEWS 296
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 301
BOOK REVIEWS 310
LEGAL DIRECTORY 316

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YOUTH JOINS THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM—Gloster Current, director of NAACP branches, presents charters to officers of the Charlotte, Reid-Park, and Wilmont, North Carolina, youth councils

■ **This article explains why there are now more than a million and a half Negro voters in the South**

Southern Negroes at the Ballot Box

By Herbert Hill

ONE of the major shortcomings of democracy in America today is the tradition of non-voting by a large portion of our citizens. This is a nationwide failing which embraces all sections, but it finds its worst expression in the South. In many elections in this part of the country only five or ten per cent of the potential voters exercise the right of franchise. This is true for voters of both races in the South.

For Negroes the cause usually given is the maintenance of diverse barriers to the ballot box. However, the traditional obstructions that in the past have successfully prevented Negro citizens from voting in the South are increasingly becoming obsolescent, as this presentation will attempt to indicate.

Today, the major problem is to make southern Negroes aware of their new status. The need is a plan for education and citizenship vigorously implemented by social action.

The great need is to induce Negroes to register and vote, to take part in the processes of government which touch them most directly in city, county, state, and national elections. There are now more than 6,000,000 Negroes of voting age in the eleven states of the old Confederacy. In South Carolina Negroes comprise almost forty per cent of the total population of voting age; in Mississippi, nearly fifty per cent.

Among all the barriers erected in the South to prevent Negroes from voting, the white primary was regarded as the most strongly entrenched. From its very inception in 1909, the NAACP began a successful battle against the "grandfather clause" and other legislative devices which disfranchised Negroes, and in 1920 the NAACP began an intransigent struggle, first in the state courts and then in the federal courts, against the white primary.

In 1944, attorneys for the NAACP won a historic victory in the case of *Smith vs. Allwright* which declared the white primary of Texas unconstitutional. The decision in the *Smith vs. Allwright* case affected all of the

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HERBERT HILL *is labor relations assistant of the NAACP.*

southern states. Immediately after this decision, vote conscious southern Negroes, operating through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, instituted numerous court actions against public officials who continued to defy or to evade the court verdict—on the pretext that the *Smith vs. Allwright* decision applied only to Texas.

SUCCESSIVE CASES

In succession came the Primus King and Wallace Van Jackson cases of Georgia; the Arthur H. Madison and William P. Mitchell cases of Alabama; the Davis and Cromwell and Dallas Graham cases of Florida; and the Edward Hall case of Louisiana. Each of these plaintiffs, represented by attorneys of the NAACP, either won his case or advanced the voting status of Negro citizens.

Observing the handwriting on the wall, the states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana bowed to the inevitable and permitted Negroes to vote in large numbers in the primaries of 1946 for the first time since Reconstruction.

In South Carolina, in 1948, the United States Supreme Court upheld the decision of Judge J. Waties Waring in the District Court which stated that Negro voters could not be excluded from the primary by the evasion that it operates as a "private club," thereby making it possible for many thousands of Negroes to vote in the 1948 primary for the first time in that state since Reconstruction.

The use of the law as an instrument of social change by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for thirty years has resulted in the destruction of the most significant legal forms of Negro disfranchisement.

Violence and intimidation are still employed, particularly in rural districts, to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. In April of 1952, the NAACP submitted affidavits to the Department of Justice complaining that Negro applicants for registration in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, were asked such questions as "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?" and "What is due process of Law?"

John Lester Mitchell, one of three Negroes who filed suit through the NAACP in Federal District Court seeking the right to register, was shot and killed by a deputy sheriff in Opelousas, Louisiana, in November of 1952.

Harry T. Moore, the executive secretary of the NAACP in Florida, who was the most prominent statewide leader and organizer of a movement to encourage Negroes to vote, was killed by a dynamite bomb on Christmas day of 1951, as was his wife.

Isaiah Nixon was murdered in Georgia in 1948 because he defied the orders of white men to stay away from the polls; and D. V. Carter, a Georgia NAACP leader, was brutally assaulted for encouraging Negroes to register and vote.

On May 27, 1952, when Florida voters were to select delegates to the Democratic National Convention, a bomb was exploded at a polling place in a predominantly Negro precinct in Jacksonville, and an unexploded dynamite bomb was found in the home of a Negro political leader. The result was a heavier turnout in the precinct than there had been in the presidential preference primaries.

POLL TAX

One of the major aims of the NAACP from its very inception has been the eradication of the poll tax. The NAACP was the organization that originally started the nationwide protest against the poll tax and has since secured the support of many other national and local groups in this fight. Because of the 44-year-old campaign waged by the Association, today the use of the poll tax has dwindled, though its severity varies from state to state. Of the eleven southern states which once required the payment of the fee, only five states remain. Several southern states enacted legislation exempting all veterans from paying the poll tax. This includes Negro servicemen.

Greater than the poll tax as a barrier to voting, and far greater as an instrument for race distinction, is the registration requirement. It has been extended to emphasize such tests of applicants as personal character, property ownership, and education.

There is very little centralized state control of registration, and election officials are left free to do as they please. One registrar may require more, or another may require less than the law of the state demands.

Registration is particularly difficult for a Negro in rural areas, as it involves a personal relationship in a very hostile atmosphere. In many counties the fear of physical violence, intimidation, and reprisal are effectively used to prevent Negroes from voting. However, in many states of the South significant changes toward greater equality in most phases of the electoral process have already taken place. Most important among these are the ever-increasing urbanization of the Negro population, the widespread increase in literacy and property ownership and a new vigor and militancy that has been sustained by the decisions of the federal courts involving disfranchisement, fought and won by the NAACP.

VOTING CONSCIOUSNESS

Today the Negro constitutes one-fourth of the southern population, with a present potential of 6,000,000 votes. Since 1946, a remarkable increase in the voting strength of Negroes in South Carolina serves dramatically to indicate a veritable political revolution. In 1946, 35,000 Negroes registered and voted in South Carolina. In 1952, more than 130,000 Negroes voted. In Florida, where approximately 40,000 Negroes voted in 1948, more than 120,000 are now registered. In Louisiana, where 60,000 Negroes voted in 1948, some 150,000 are registered today. In Arkansas, proportionately more Negroes than whites have been paying their poll taxes, and over 85,000 Negroes voted in the 1952 presidential election. In North Carolina where 55,000 Negroes voted in 1948, well over 100,000 registered and voted in the national election of 1952.

To further stimulate Negro political activity, and as an indication of these recent developments, is the fact that Negroes are running for office and occasionally being elected. In 1952, Negroes were members of city councils in Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. In Tennessee, two Negroes are in Nashville's city council. In sixteen

southern states there are 417 Negro policemen and 468 Negroes in managerial professional posts (physician, social worker, librarian, municipal judge, etc.). In San Antonio, Texas, a Negro physician was elected to the board of education. Since 1944, Negroes have run for municipal posts in more than 40 southern cities, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement was elected to the Board of Education in Atlanta, and the well known NAACP leader, A. T. Walden, together with Miles G. Amos, was elected to the 16-member Atlanta City Executive Committee of the Democratic party.

In 1948, approximately 700,000 Negroes were registered voters in the South, and in 1952 the Negro vote approximated 1,300,000. Alexander Heard, the eminent southern historian, in a recent political study of the South, entitled "A Two-Party South?" (1952), stated that "establishing the right to vote and encouraging its use are essentially impartial matters of good citizenship. . . . This has proceeded under the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"In the South," Mr. Heard continues, "the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has played a greater role in modern Negro politics than any other organization. The NAACP has been the driving force behind the awakening Negro's political consciousness. It has led in most of the Negro's legal battles for equal rights, the most important among them, the right to vote in party primaries. For this right to mean anything, however, Negroes must meet the suffrage requirements, intricate and baffling in many states, and go to the polls and vote. Like the Junior Chamber of Commerce or the Civitans, the NAACP sponsors better-citizenship drives to increase citizen-participation in government through exercise of the ballot. A Negro's decision on *how* he should vote is inevitably bound up with the struggle he has gone through to get the right to vote. To 'educate' him to vote his obvious interests is the logical step after getting him qualified and to the polls. The NAACP, as an organization, remains officially non-partisan, but it exerts profound influence on when Negroes vote, why they vote, and also on how they vote."

NAACP ROLE

The NAACP is recognized as the great mass organization of the American Negro, particularly, in the South where the Association operates through more than 700 branches, state conferences, and regional offices. Its roots are deep within the Negro community in which it has been operating for over 44 years and is the oldest and largest civil rights organization of its kind in America.

The decisive role of the NAACP in organizing successful registration and voting campaigns among southern Negroes, and the role of the Association in relation to the most significant institutions within the Negro community, was described by the late Professor Luther P. Jackson in an article which appeared in the June, 1948, issue of the *New South*, entitled "Race and Suffrage In The South." Professor Jackson states: "Interlocking with these civil and political organizations has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In

some instances the individual who is a newspaper editor or lawyer is also a leader in the state voters' league and at the same time head of a branch of this militant body. Though the NAACP seeks to protect the rights of Negro citizens in every area of the broad field of civil rights, its leaders have always placed great emphasis on voting; so strong has been this emphasis that the NAACP has over-shadowed other civic groups as an instrument for forging a voting consciousness among Negroes."

Beginning in 1946, the NAACP instituted an intensive campaign in the South to encourage Negro electoral activity. Special organizers were sent into the field. Political action seminars and institutes were conducted on a city, county, and state basis. "Pay Your Poll Tax" campaigns were initiated and successfully carried out. Many Negro voters' leagues were encouraged and effective plans were initiated through the largest Negro churches, fraternal organizations, and sororities, and professional and business men's groups. Careful attention was paid to the education of large groups on how to register and how to cope with hostile registration officials. An illustration of the effectiveness of NAACP activity was reported by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* on May 3, 1947, in a story stating that Negroes were "Qualifying to vote in larger numbers than whites," and headlined, "Drive By NAACP Exhibits Results." The news story follows:

CAREFUL SUPERVISION

"A Negro man wearing an NAACP badge on his coat lapel was supervising the poll tax payments and registration of many Negroes yesterday. He patrolled the first floor of City Hall and directed Negroes to the line outside Mr. Hulce's office. As soon as each Negro paid his poll tax he told him, 'Now, go to the fourth floor, Room 414; that's where you register.' "

At the turn of the century southern Negroes adopted the slogan "Politics is white folks' business." Of great significance for the political development of the entire nation is the sharp leap forward in the evolutionary process within a comparatively short period of time among Negroes in the South.

A recent study conducted by the Committee on Registration and voting in Alabama, entitled "A Report of Negro Voting in Alabama by Counties," indicates some of the very serious barriers that still persist according to the registration reports from several counties in Alabama. The following practices are listed:

1. Requiring Negro applicants to produce one or more white character witnesses. Sometimes this man must go to the board of registrars and sign (eight counties reported this to be the case).
2. Applying severe property qualifications and requiring a Negro applicant to show property-tax receipts.
3. Strictly enforcing literacy tests against Negro applicants.
4. Putting unreasonable questions about the Constitution to the Negro applicants.
5. Basing rejection of Negro applicants on alleged technical mistakes in filling out registration blanks.

6. Requiring Negro applicants to suffer long waiting periods before the officials serve them.
7. Requiring Negro applicants to fill out their own blanks, while those of the white are filled out by the officials.
8. Evasion—informing Negro applicants that registration cards have run out, that all members of the registration board are not present; that it is closing time, or that applicant will be notified in due time.
9. Deliberate threats by official hangers-on.

Because of the poverty and limited education of hundreds of thousands of white southerners, the forces of reaction in the South have always been powerful, and this group stands ready to fight any movement to increase Negro electoral participation.

Regardless of reaction and demagoguery the great progress made by southern Negroes must be extended. At one time, in a considerable portion of the South, physical violence was inflicted upon any Negro who attempted to register. The time is now passing when violence, crossburnings, threats, intimidations, and ominous effigies, e.g., "This nigger tried to vote," preceded election day, and murders, as in Georgia in 1946, followed them, succeed in deterring large numbers of Negroes from the polling places. Later, brutality was discarded in favor of evasion; today registrars will enroll some or all of the Negroes who apply. But the most important task is to get Negroes to apply, and then to vote in great numbers. They must do this, not only in the areas of the greatest density of population, but also in certain important rural communities.

The brilliant history of the legal victories in the federal courts won by NAACP attorneys, the industrialization of the South, the increase in education, the waning effect of the poll tax, a new consciousness among southern Negroes, and above all, a greater appreciation for democracy in the light of world conditions, are some of the factors which have brought changes at the registration places throughout the South.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the New England Hospital in Roxbury, Massachusetts, organized over 90 years ago, was the first hospital to enroll a Negro for nurse training?

The Hospital is seeking information about this woman, Mary Mahoney, who graduated 75 years ago.

MERCHANT MARINE CADET HONORED—*Cadet-Midshipman Kennth Guscott (right) of Boston, Mass., was presented with a special award "as outstanding student in many achievements" by the Great Neck, Long Island, branch at the graduation exercises of the U. S. Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, N. Y., on February 26, 1954. Branch president Mrs. Anne Aldrich (center) made the presentation. Looking on is Rear Admiral Gordon McLintock, superintendent of the Academy.*

■ How a Northern minister fought through the suffocating fog of race prejudice during a pastorate in the South

Brotherhood — a New Day in the South

By George C. Anderson

WHEN a preacher who has fought for civil rights resigns his church in the North to accept a pulpit in the deep South, what happens? That is what my friends conjectured when I accepted a church in a hot bed of racial unrest after serving Pennsylvania churches all my life. For years I had preached on equal rights and the meaning of brotherhood. Now I was going into "enemy" territory.

I knew the South was not the only place a Christian minister would find discrimination; I had experienced plenty in my swanky parish up North. I had once invited a distinguished Negro educator to speak in a series of sermons on "Democracy and Christianity." After the service, a Virginia-born vestryman bitterly warned that "if I brought a damn' nigger into the church again" I could take his name from the church roll. Later, I was critized for inviting a Rabbi to preach in the same sermon series; many in the congregation didn't like the idea of a Jew speaking from a Christian chancel—this despite the fact that Jesus was a Jew!

In the same parish some people were annoyed when I allowed a ten year old Japanese-American Christian lad to join the boys' choir. We were then at war with Japan, and I was asked to throw the boy out; when I refused, several members cancelled their financial pledges to the church.

Later, a few families from neighboring industrial areas started to attend my church, and were insulted by members of the congregation, who disproved the presence of any of the less socially "elite." I couldn't help but recall the story of how a "lower class" family had gone to a swank church only to be met with cold stares. When the newcomers complained of their treatment to an old resident, he replied, "Don't feel too bad—God has been trying to get into that church for years, and He hasn't made it yet!"

GEORGE C. ANDERSON, *who once held a pastorate in the South, now resides in New York City.*

Now that I was in the South, I was eager to see first-hand the racial conditions I had often heard about. I decided to keep my mouth shut, but eyes and ears open until I could figure out the South's attitude toward the Negro. Although I'd gone south to develop and build a new church rather than to crusade for civil rights, I was certain that my congregation was anxious to learn my attitude toward the South. I didn't have long to wait.

BLUNT QUESTION

A few days after my arrival, a vestryman bluntly asked me if I had any feelings about "niggers." I knew I was being put on the spot and that my answer would be common gossip next day. I replied that I had no opinion on the Negro problem in the South as my attitude about racial matters was obviously limited to what I had experienced up North. I told him that I was anxious to honestly discover the arguments pro and con, that genuine reasons probably existed why Southern folk felt as they did. My reply apparently satisfied him as he didn't press his point. Fortunately for me, my candid desire to get the Southerner's point of view lessened any hostility against me for being a damn Yankee.

I learned that a few Southerners couldn't accept the fact that Negroes were human beings; to them, Negroes were classified somewhere between animals and humans. But on the whole, I found a real concern over the predicament into which the Negro—and more especially the white man—had been thrown. Once I was told by a Negro in the North that there wasn't any Negro problem in the South—it was a problem for the whites.

Negroes didn't belong to my new church. However, we employed a Negro janitor who was treated kindly. In that part of the South churches practice complete segregation; white and Negro ministers don't gather at the weekly Ministerium except on special occasions. I remembered that in my seminary up North, Negro ministerial students had sat together at one table in the dining room. Today, however, segregation in seminaries is rapidly disappearing.

In my church, I tried to be extremely tactful although uncompromising in my principles for human justice. When several Sunday School teachers didn't like certain lesson material, I discovered their objection was due to a colorful leaflet picturing Negro, Chinese, Indian, and white children playing together. Apparently, some parents became annoyed when this literature was distributed to their children. I pointed out that the material had been ordered before I had become their minister, but in any event the leaflet was merely illustrating what had been taught by Jesus in the Gospels.

HOMES DYNAMITED

A week after I arrived, a Negro dentist's new home was dynamited despite the fact that it had been built in the segregated Negro neighborhood. Several weeks later, another Negro house was blown up. I learned that incidents like this often occurred for no obvious reasons. I was curious to see community reaction—if any. I was gratified when a leading newspaper editorially condemned the bombings and inferred police

negligence. The editorial suggested that the FBI be called in if the police failed to put a stop to the destruction. Service clubs and other civic organizations framed resolutions sympathizing with the victims of the explosions. The police were openly brutal to Negroes; hardly a week went by without a Negro being shot by police.

I was amazed at the extent to which segregation was practiced. A doctor in my congregation apologetically admitted that Negroes were not permitted to ride in ambulances for white folk except for a serious accident—and then only if a Negro ambulance was unavailable. He mentioned instances when Negroes hurt in accidents had been left lying in the street because no Negro ambulances were available, even though "white" ambulances were idle at the time.

Segregation existed in hospitals. Patients were not permitted outside of their particular "color" section. Negro doctors could not serve white patients, even if the patient insisted on a Negro doctor. But Negro and white nurses often worked together. When I became a patient in a hospital I couldn't understand why Negro nurses were allowed to place thermometers in the mouths of white patients and to hold white wrists for pulse beat and yet Negro patients were not permitted to lie in bed in an adjoining room. A community hospital for Negroes was being erected; however, I was told that certain Negro doctors resent special hospitals for Negroes because the equipment is often inferior to that in white hospitals.

On Sundays, I didn't preach on the Negro question, but on the brotherhood of man and the common fatherhood of God. By preaching humility, democracy, justice, and unselfishness I was teaching men to recognize obligations to each other. The sermons began to have some effect. I suggested that the Youth League of the church collect books for the miserable Negro libraries in the city, and that while old books would be satisfactory it would be better Christianity to collect and donate good and new books. Over a thousand were collected and most were almost new. Some of the boys remarked that it was too bad the Negroes had to live in such squalor. I replied that when the young people in the League became adults they would have the power to correct racial injustices if they really wanted to do so.

LOW WAGES

What I saw in the South confirmed the fact that although much progress is being made to relieve the plight of the Negro, many problems still exist. Minimum wage laws are not always observed. For instance, our church janitor was receiving only fifty cents an hour, so I suggested that his hourly rate be increased, particularly since he had many children to support. We employed him on a part-time basis; members of the congregation hired him in their homes when he was off duty. "Now don't you spoil him," I was told by a vestryman. "You Northerners will get us in trouble. We church members who employ him give him fifty cents an hour, and if you raise his pay at the church, each of us will have to give him more pay when he works at

the house." Nevertheless, I was able to get him a small increase.

The low wages paid Negroes often work to the advantage of the whites in strange ways. I wondered why so many women came to our Monday morning meetings in the church, but learned that at $2.50 a day, every woman could have a maid. True, highly efficient servants were paid $3.50 a day, but much less than the $8.00 a day I paid a servant in the North. These low wages give Southern women a leisure rarely enjoyed by their sisters in the North. I began to wonder if the attempt to keep Negroes' wages down wasn't part of an unconscious effort to preserve leisure and luxurious living. While some exploitation of Negroes is evident, wages are gradually beginning to rise and Negroes are moving into skilled and semi-skilled occupations. Fewer Negroes are available for farm work and menial jobs as industrial areas grow.

SUGARED AFFECTION

Oftimes it was difficult to reconcile the avowed affection of parishioners toward the Negro with the racial discrimination which existed. My friends would tell me how they loved their "Mammy" who had raised them, or the servant who was caring for the children. "I give Julie all her clothing—get the doctor for her when she is sick—why, she's a member of the family," said a church member. "We take care of our Negroes here in the South—you let them starve in the North," I was told by another.

I was disturbed at the appearance of several wretched-looking frame Negro schools. To my question why Negroes were not given better educational opportunities I was told that it "costs too much." "We havn't even enough money to educate our white people properly," said a parishioner. In that particular state, there exists a large population of poor whites in addition to an enormous Negro population. Tax burdens must fall on the few who can pay, and thus the problem of decent education cannot be solved for the present by local funds. Eventually, it may have to be the concern of the United States government. Better housing depends on higher Negro wages or a government subsidy.

My congregation was eager for me to become like them. "Soon you won't be disturbed by the Negro problem because you'll understand it better," I was told. I found myself becoming accustomed to the strict separation of Negro and white. I began to wonder if white supremacy was due to a pathological need of feeding one's sense of superiority. At least, I was always being reminded that I was supposed to be better than the Negro.

The ease with which one can drift into this attitude of white supremacy is best illustrated by the experience of a 17-year-old German lad who came to our community for a year as an exchange student. He was one of a group brought by the State Department to study American democracy in action. When he arrived in this country he had no prejudice against Negroes; in fact, he had never seen a colored person. But by the time he was ready to return to Germany after spending his entire year in the deep South, he was a firm

(*Continued on page* 315)

THESE OFFICERS *of the Brooklyn, N. Y., youth council have geared their members for action in* 1954: *From left, seated, Irene Dickerson, chairman finance committee; Herbert Young, secretary; Loretta Williams, president; Elizabeth McKinney, vice-president; Donald Young, chaplain; standing, Elois Callahan, chairman membership committee, and Rev. O. D. Dempsey, senior council advisor.* BOTTOM: *Walter White installs the new officers of the Little Rock, Arkansas, youth council in an impressive service.*

■ An article-review of conditions in Kenya, East Africa

British Parliamentary Delegation Reports on Kenya[1]

By George Padmore

THE most significant thing about the Report of the Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya is not so much what it reveals as the fact that it is the first official admission since the emergency that the Africans, especially the Kikuyus, have justifiable grievances.

Until now this has been strenuously denied by the Secretary of State for Colonies, who has all along tried to create the impression that the Africans who support Mau Mau rebellion are just gangsters who, for some mysterious reason, have suddenly "reverted" to a state of savagery. This childishly superficial explanation of the causes which have given rise to Mau Mau even finds credence in this otherwise well informed and very revealing report.

Contrary to the hitherto cynical attitude evinced by Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton, the authors of the Report — three die-hard Tories, Messrs. Walter Elliot, C. J. M. Alport and E. B. Wakefield, and three middle-of-the- road Socialists, Messrs. Arthur Bottomley, James Johnson and R. W. Williams—have been compelled by the very nature of the objective situation which they found during their 16-days' visit to Kenya to admit frankly that notwithstanding some of the revolting methods used by Mau Mau adherents, there do

GEORGE PADMORE *is the well-known Negro author and journalist and recognized authority on African affairs. His book on "The Gold Coast Revolution" was recently banned by the Kenya Government.*

[1] Colonial Office Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Parliamentary Delegation to Kenya, January, 1954. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 9d.

exist justifiable grievances among the overwhelming majority of the African population.

These grievances (admitted in the report) range from land shortage, economic and social color bars, low wages, bad housing, limited educational facilities, the absence of social security up to the denial of political and civil rights. Moreover, their strictures on police brutality and corruption recall some of the worst features of the "Black and Tan" in Ireland. "Brutality and malpractices," says the Report, "have occurred on a scale which constitutes a threat to public confidence in the course of law and order."

In support of the indictment of the police force, the Report quotes official records, showing that "there have been prosecutions for brutality among the police forces, ending in 73 convictions. Forty cases are pending. There have also been 29 prosecutions for corruption, of which there were 12 convictions, 13 are pending." God alone knows how many other cases of brutality have gone unpunished by those in authority. This disgraceful and revolting state of affairs is the logical outcome of British methods of colonial administration.

TRIBAL VENDETTA

Although the Report is silent on the point, it is a well-known fact that the large majority of the police employed against Mau Mau are recruited from tribes other than the Kikuyus, and that they are encouraged by their European officers, to carry out their duties in the spirit of tribal vendetta. It is, therefore, sheer hypocrisy merely to indict "the lower levels of police" without condemning the entire system of colonial administration, which is actually responsible for the recruitment and training of the African police as an instrument of terror against the civilian African population.

This applies not just to Kenya but to most parts of Africa. Everywhere these black "storm troopers" are looked upon as enemies of the people and the watchdogs of alien domination. And as such, they enjoy unbridled license to practice brutality, corruption and bribery. Matters have now reached such a shocking state in Kenya that the Commissioner of Police has been retired and the head of the City of London police Colonel Young, has been engaged to reorganize the police force. Colonel Young performed a similar mission in Malaya last year.

Whatever readers of the Report may think about the atrocities ascribed to Mau Mau, details of which have been deleted, the fact remains that they have achieved one positive good. And that is that their very methods of violence have accomplished what other Africans have failed to do. They have forced a Parliamentary Commission to recognise the real grievances of their fellows, including those described as "loyal Kikuyus." For they, too, are part of the five million Africans whose economic, political and social needs have until now been ignored by the white authorities in Kenya and Whitehall.

This being so, one of the greatest indictments that can be brought against colonial government as carried on in multiracial territories such as Kenya is that the system is so repressive that unless the Africans

resort to direct action, their rulers just refuse to recognise—much less redress—their grievances. This is confirmed by their revelations made in the Report.

BELATED RECOGNITION

All the problems mentioned by the Visiting Mission—land hunger, color bar, lack of education, low wages, social security, lack of political representation, etc., etc.,—have frequently been brought to the attention of both the Kenya Government and the Colonial Office. But instead of dealing sympathetically with the recognised leaders of the people, these men were invariably abused as "dangerous agitators," and "semi-educated trouble-makers."

Little or no attempt was made even by Labor Governments after the end of the war to right the wrongs of the long-suffering Africans. Had they done so, the present trouble in Kenya could have been avoided.

Kenyatta spent over 16 years in Great Britain, during which time he presented several petitions to both Tory and Socialist colonial ministers and submitted many memoranda to Royal Commissions appointed to examine the land problem in Kenya. Despite repeated promises to implement extremely modest agrarian reforms based upon the recommendations of the Hilton Young and Morris Carter Commissions, African land hunger was ignored and allowed to go from bad to worse.

By the time of the outbreak of the Mau Mau revolt, 16,000 square miles of land had been alienated to 2,000 European settlers, many of them retired British army officers and members of the old landed gentry and feudal families.

DRIVEN OFF LAND

Among the earliest settlers was Lord Delamere who had first pick of the best land in the Kikuyu country. He got plantations of over one hundred thousand acres. Other aristocrats like Lord Francis Scott, uncle of the Duchess of Gloucester, and the Earl of Plymouth secured about three hundred and fifty thousand acres between them. The son of the Duke of Abercorn acquired an estate of thirty thousand acres, while other aristocratic land-grabbers and speculators formed joint stock companies through which they control vast plantations, such as the East African Estates, which owns over three hundred and fifty thousand acres. The chairman of the company is Viscount Gobham. His uncle, the Hon. R. G. Lyttleton, holds 14,108 shares in the company.

Viscount Gobham is a cousin of Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton.

The Kikuyus, who were expelled from their ancestral homes to make way for the settlers, alone lost over 500,000 acres, for which they were not paid any compensation. The Masai, Kavirondo, and Wakamba tribes have also lost considerable lands since the British occupation.

At present the 5,500,000 Africans are confined to special areas known as Reserves. These cover about 50,000 square miles. The Kikuyus, who are the most advanced tribe, number about 1,500,000. Their reserve is about 2,000 square miles of cultivable land. The density of population is so great that in some areas it is over 1,000 per square mile. Those unable to find accommodation within the

Reserve have become squatters on the farms of white settlers. Over 250,000 of these landless Kikuyus have no rights or security of tenure. They have been reduced to the status of serfs. Others, especially the younger men, have drifted to Nairobi, the capital, where very few of them are able to secure employment because of the absence of large-scale manufacturing or mining industries.

WHAT IS MAU MAU?

After the failure of his mission to Britain, Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1947. During his absence, however, the Kikuyu Central Association was suppressed by the Government in 1940, as a "subversive organization." But shortly after the end of the war, a new organization known as the Kenya African Union (K.A.U.), was formed by a new generation of Africans to continue the agitation for political, economic and social reforms.

To promote the aims and objects of the K.A.U., the organisers launched a campaign to collect a million signatures to a petition to be presented to the British Parliament. The campaign proved to be such a success that within a few months after its inauguration, the K.A.U. was able to despatch two of its executive members, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, a Kikuyu, and Mr. Achieng Oneko, a Luo, to England, with the intention of presenting a petition to the Secretary of State for Colonies, asking him to appoint a commission to enquire into and redress their grievances, which were similar to those to which Kenyatta had drawn the British Government's attention nearly twenty years before.

After Mr. Lyttelton had refused to receive the mission, which had the backing of Mr. Fenner Brockway and a small group of Labor left-wing back-benchers, Mr. Oneko returned to Kenya to report on the failure of the mission. His colleague, Mr. Koinange, remained in Britain to carry on the work of enlightening the British public about actual conditions in Kenya.

When news of Mr. Koinange's exposures in Britain, reached Kenya, the settlers became most indignant and the leaders of the Electors Union, the European political organization, demanded the suppression of the K.A.U. But since Jomo Kenyatta, president of the Union, and other officers had publicly repudiated the use of violence, and were conducting their campaign for reforms strictly along constitutional lines, the Governor found it difficult to justify the suppression of the K.A.U.

This, however, did not restrain the settlers from carrying on their incitement against African organization as a seditious body. Then suddenly, the European press announced that they had "discovered" an African secret society which they called Mau Mau, and which they asserted was inspired and directed by Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders of the K.A.U., with the object of driving the white settlers out of Kenya Highlands and seizing political power for themselves.

The K.A.U. leaders denied these allegations and continued to appeal to their followers to avoid the use of violence. They offered to co-operate with the Government to help maintain law and order; but this was rejected and a state of emergency was declared in September, 1952.

LEADERS ARRESTED

A few weeks later, Jomo Kenyatta and 25 other officers of the K.A.U., including Achieng Oneko, were arrested. From then on, mass arrests of members of the K.A.U. have taken place. Two months after Kenyatta and five of his colleagues were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment with hard labor on charge of "assisting in the managing of Mau Mau," the Government declared the K.A.U. an illegal organization, thus creating a political vacuum as far as the Africans were concerned.

Mau Mau, unlike the K.A.U. is not an organized political party or nationalist movement with a regular membership, a constitution, political program, and officers. Even the designation has never been satisfactorily explained, as no such word as Mau Mau exists in the Kikuyu language. [*Oddly enough, no one has pointed out that Mau is the Portuguese masculine adjective for bad or evil.* Editor]. Nevertheless, its socio-economic causes can be explained.

It is a spontaneous revolt of a declassed section of the African rural population, uprooted from its tribal lands and driven into urban slums. At the time of the declaration of the emergency, it is estimated that over ten thousand Africans were permanently unemployed in Nairobi. Removed from tribal discipline and embittered, many of the young men took to a life of crime. It was from this *lumpen proletariat* [*Ragged proletariat: Marx's term for workers unable to live up to working-class theory.* Editor]. that "dead end" gang leaders recruited adherents to avenge themselves upon the white men, whom they hold responsible for breaking up their tribal life and replacing it with nothing but slave labor on European farms.

Like the slave revolts of ancient Rome, the Mau Mau supporters are fighting for land, without which they prefer death.

In a country like Kenya, where according to the Parliamentary Delegation Report, "old age security, by way of pension or national provident fund" does not exist, unless an urbanished African owns a piece of land in the Reserve to which he can return in his old age, he may as well be dead.

INTERRACIAL PARTNERSHIP

The progressive and nationalistically-minded leaders of the K.A.U. had a positive economic, political and social program which envisaged the building of an integrated African self-governing state with democratic safeguards for minority races. The Mau Mau leaders, however, look back to the past and seek to exploit traditional tribal oaths and practices to recruit and bind their followers in supporting their limited fight for land for the landless.

The immediate problem is the ending of the bloody violence on both sides and creating an atmosphere in which even the modest recommendations embodied in the Report can be discussed by the representatives of the different racial groups. But such a Round Table Conference can only be brought about by first of all securing the support of those African leaders who enjoy the confidence and loyalty of the mass of the people. And as most of those people are under arrest, it

(*Continued on page* 314)

OFFICERS AND WORKERS *in three NAACP branches. From top down, West Palm Beach, Florida; M. T. Blanton (left) of Chicago, Ill., branch takes out life membership; and new officers of the Bakersfield, Calif., branch.*

Good News

The Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, associate pastor and minister of education at the Community Church of New York City since 1948, has accepted the pastorate of the Peoples Independent Church of Los Angeles, California.

Mr. Dawkins, the first Negro to be named to the ministerial staff of the New York church in its 125-year history, was in charge of all educational work and social action projects.

★ ★ ★

Clarence Cameron White, one of America's foremost composers, has been named the winner of the coveted 1953-54 "A Benjamin Award for Tranquil Music." His "Elegy," a work lasting nine and a half-minutes, was given its world premiere by the New Orleans Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra at the orchestra's final concert of the current season on March 16. Alexander Hilsberg, music director and conductor of the New Orleans orchestra, was on the podium.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Betty Granger of East Elmhurst, New York, has been appointed education and public relations officer on the staff of President Eisenhower's Government Contract Committee.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Edith M. Alexander, thirty-year veteran of civic and municipal affairs, has resigned her position as executive director of the New York City Mayor's Committee on Unity to take up her new duties as associate director of the Mayor's Advisory Council.

★ ★ ★

Emmett J. Scott, Jr., of New York City has been appointed office and field engineer for the Foreign Operations Administration in Amman, Jordan.

★ ★ ★

The Zerbinetta of the Little Orchestra Society's presentation of Richard Strauss' opera *Ariadne auf Naxos* in New York City's Town Hall in March was the coloratura soprano Mattiwilda Dobbs. Olin Downes, writing in *The New York Times*, says Miss Dobbs "immediately proved herself to be one of the gifted bravura singers now before the public."

★ ★ ★

■ **Hamilton Air Force Base personnel play fairy godmother to a group of racially-mixed youngsters**

It Only Happens In Make Believe

By Ernest M. Davis

CINDERELLA, the age-old classic with the ever present ending—and they lived happily ever after—was updated to the 20th Century a few summers ago and played in an Arizona background. In this modern setting, however, the characters differed from the original fairy tale. Besides, it really happened!

The fair-haired beauty, Cinderella, was eight underprivileged Negro Boy Scouts whose ruthless stepmother was poverty—a big difference from the land of make-believe. Luke Air Force Base was the good godmother, and a khaki bag containing $300 served as her magic wand. Production head for pumpkin and horses was the commanding officer at Luke Air Force Base, located on a desert tract twenty miles west of Phoenix, Colonel Thomas L. Mosley.

Moreover, the Royal Ball didn't end after a few short hours of glamour but lasted eight days and nights at Camp Geronimo's annual summer Boy Scout outing.

The story began during the early summer months of 1952 when the air base undertook teaching today's youth to be better men of tomorrow. Men, who would think clearly, logically and unbiasedly for America. In doing this, the base discarded the "Jim Crow Law" and figuratively adopted Colored, as well as White, Boy Scouts.

At first, with Air Force personnel supplying and cooking the food, overnight encampments were arranged for the mixed troops from the White Tanks Mountain district.

ERNEST M. DAVIS *was in the Public Information Office of the Hamilton Air Base at the time he wrote this article.*

THE BOYS *giggled when the cold stethoscope touched their warm bodies as they underwent a thorough physical check-up clad only in underclothes—or reasonable facsimiles.*

One such outing was held in May and found the fairy godmother air base descending for the first time upon 150 scouts.

Held in a rugged section of the White Tank Mountains, the "horses" —off duty food service squadron men who volunteered to pack, transport and cook the scouts' dinner— drove the elaborate "coaches"— trucks stuffed with fine foods and cooking equipment—within five miles of the camp.

From that point on, the airmen lugged the potential feast over five rugged, rocky miles. After a light lunch, they cleared a kitchen area and began preparing a meal for the oncoming troops.

Similar in nature to many other camping meals furnished the boys, this one consisted of lettuce wedges, baked ham, sweet potatoes, string beans, hot biscuits, ice tea and milk.

And after each overnight camping meal, the scouts, who differed only in skin coloration, sang, laughed and listened to stories together. When the clock chimed "twelve" and the fire died with the sun's hot rays, the happier and healthier troops dreamed of the next time; sleeping side by side.

BASE TOURS

Later, the mixed scouts were given Saturday tours of the base, which eventually became a regular event as did the meeting of "dignitaries" at another "ball."

In this instance the dignitaries were the officers and airmen working in different base sections or departments, while the ball was a wide-scoped merit badge training program.

As an example of the varied training available, the scouts could choose from twenty-five separate courses such as automobiling, dog care, life saving, physical development, radio, safety and many others. Besides awarding a scout the usual merit badge upon completion of each project, the air base added a merit badge certificate.

And the "good deed a day" boys were grateful for the air base's repeated and repeated magic touch. This was illustrated at one open house, where the public is invited to inspect the base, held that summer.

A few scouts were asked to assist concession managers operating booths. So grateful were the Colored and White kids, they turned out in overabundance, which forced the managers to open numerous other booths.

However, the eight Negro lads between the ages of seven and twelve remain the real Cinderellas of this modern "fairy tale."

It was time for the Royal Ball. Time, that is, Camp Geronimo readied its facilities for 300 Boy Scouts of America who annually attended the outing. The favored daughter (300 fortunate scouts whose parents' income withstood the camp's price admission) were packed and ready to leave, but Cinderella's "mean stepmother" wouldn't stand for it.

Knowing of the existing condition, the godmother air base, headed by Colonel Mosley, decided to send eight underprivileged Negro scouts to the ball. In order to assure completion of the proposed mission, Colonel Mosley assigned his most competent enlisted man, Negro Sergeant Major Bennie J. Wilson, as the "coachman" to "transport" the youngsters to camp.

Literally stated, Sergeant Wilson had full responsibility of raising enough money to finance the boys' dream.

After setting a goal of $180, twenty-two dollars and fifty cents per scout, Sergeant Wilson notified each squadron commander and told them of his plan: voluntary donations from the men on payday. And on payday, May 31, and just five days following the birth of the idea, the

Air Force Photo

EACH SATURDAY *base tours, overnight outings or hearty Air Force meals await them.* BOTTOM: *While receiving training in a widespread merit badge program, the scouts meet the different officers and airmen in charge of the sections or departments.*

reliable sergeant handed Colonel Mosley a bag containing—not $180, but over $300.

GOALS AND HOPES

Way over the initial goal and hopes of anyone, the godmother air base was not only successful in sending the eight Cinderellas to the Royal Ball but also furnished them with spending money.

Before leaving, however, each scout had to undergo a thorough "primping," in this case a physical check-up at the modern base hospital. Furthermore, their mean stepmother accompanied them.

Mute testimony of their parent's poverty was quite evident as the half cheerful and half scared boys took the tune-up. Giggling when the cold stethoscope touched their warm bodies and moaning when seated in the dentist chair, the boys took the check-up clad only in underclothing. This consisted of anything from holy, ragged shorts or swimming suits to shirts tied around their waist and nothing except nudity.

But regardless of their mean stepmother's persistence, they all passed the "primping" and went on to enjoy the ball. And a ball they had fishing, hiking, horseback riding, archery, swimming and camping for eight days and nights. A dream the godmother air base refuses to let them forget.

For like the original fairy tale, a slipper was lost. However, this slipper not only fitted the eight underprivileged young boys shrouded in poverty, but hundreds of other mixed boy scouts in the surrounding area.

Every Saturday base tours, overnight outings or hearty Air Force meals awaited them. And even though some returned to less impressive surroundings after each Saturday's dream, their vision of the coming weekend completed the fairy tale with an "and they lived happily ever after" ending . . . for the future.

Don't try to tell these youngsters that . . . It only happens in make-believe!

DID YOU KNOW—

That the first football game between Negro colleges was played on January 1, 1897, at Brisbine Park, Atlanta, Georgia, between Atlanta University and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute?

Atlanta won the game with a score of 10 to 0. Atlanta's captain was George F. Porter and Tuskegee's, Clarence Matthews.

Looking and Listening . . .

RACE HATRED

"THE most striking thing about race hatred is the effect it has on the haters, shown most vividly in the children they are bringing up," declares Seamus Fleming, Chicago newspaperman, in the April issue of *The Grail,* national Catholic magazine published at St. Meinrad, Indiana.

In the article, "Heritage of Hate," Mr. Fleming describes hate as "a cancer which destroys the hater more than his victim," and expresses the hope that "if people will not control it for God or for their fellowman, perhaps they will do it for their own children."

"Will children grow up with much respect for law and order and the rights of their fellowmen," he asks, "if their parents rejoice when a Negro's house burns or if they feel that public tax funds (to which the Negro contributed) should be used for segregated housing?"

The author recalls the prevailing attitude in the neighborhood in which he lived a few years ago, close to "Bronzeville," Chicago's overcrowded Negro section.

"They (the whites) lived in fear," he says, "that some day a Negro might buy into their select community and ruin the neighborhood. Meanwhile their own houses went unpainted and unrepaired, their own lawns went to weeds, their own children played unwatched in the streets and were out long after dark with no supervision.

"The child's basic education in manners and morals," Mr. Fleming points out, "comes from his family, not the school. In an atmosphere of prejudice he begins to think, like his race-hating parents, that there are two laws: one for 'whites' and one for other 'colors.' It is wrong to destroy our property and good to destroy theirs; it is evil to attack us but good to attack them. It is wrong for us to starve; their starvation is their own fault."

The child, declares the author, clearly sees that the only difference between races is skin color and reasons that therefore we persecute the Negro because he is "not like us." He can easily translate this into a general rule: I and my kind are all-important; whoever is different from me has no rights.

Mr. Fleming says that Our Lord's two great Commandments, "Love the Lord thy God," and "Love thy neighbor," are actually one Commandment, "since you cannot love God fully without loving your neighbor." "If you hate a race," he says, "you are, just that much, hating God, who created it."

CHURCHMAN RESIGNS

"I WOULD never join a church that wouldn't admit Negroes.

Churches should take the lead in integration," asserted C. G. Hammon who recently reigned from the Official Board of the Methodist Church.

The partner of a photo-studio in Jefferson City, Missouri, said he resigned because a board committee, of which he was chairman, would not let him bring to the entire church board the matter of admitting Negroes to fellowship. Having been with the Methodist church four years, the *Jefferson Citian* said that the Rev. D. R. Lytle, pastor of the church, had been evading the issue.

Before joining the Methodist church, the 44-year-old business man, now disgusted with the racial situation, was a Presbyterian. Mr. Lytle said that he felt his church would have mixed reactions to integration, that some members would resent it; others would accept.

ACADEMIC "APARTHEID"

THE March, 1954, issue of *Way Forum*, (Paris, France) official organ of The World Assembly of Youth publishes a statement signed by twenty-one prominent South African educators and professional and business men condemning the threat of Malan's government to exclude non-Europeans from the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town.

We quote a few significant paragraphs from the statement:

Four different systems operate in South Africa at present. There is, firstly the University of Potchefstroom, whose charter permits it to admit European students only. Secondly, the Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria and the Orange Free State, though not restricted by their charter, in practice do not admit non-Europeans. Rhodes is in like position, but does admit non-European post-graduate students. The University College of Fort Hare, affiliated to Rhodes, gives preference to non-European students. Thirdly, there is the University of Natal which conducts separate classes for Europeans and non-Europeans. Fourthly, there are the open universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, which, with certain exceptions due to practical considerations, admit non-Europeans on the same criteria as Europeans.

The practice followed by the open universities has not given rise to friction or internal tension. On the contrary, successive generations of students have enthusiastically affirmed the wisdom and correctness of opening the university to non-European students, while similar resolutions have been passed by the University Council and staff. It is significant that the students of Rhodes and the Convention of Natal voted by overwhelming majorities against academic segregation. . . . We consider that, within South Africa, the open universities of the Witwatersrand and of Cape Town approach nearest to this conception of a university [That is, "to create a body of men and women who share a sense of civilized values"]. . . . We record our deep conviction that it would be a tragedy for the future of this country if the Government compelled these now open universities to depart from their established practice.

MISCELLANEA

A BIOGRAPHICAL article of Mary E. Mahoney, the tiny Boston-born Negro woman who, in 1879, won recognition as the first graduate Negro nurse in the United States is featured in the April issue of the *American Journal of Nursing*, official monthly magazine of the

(*Continued on page* 314)

DESERVED AWARD—*Charles Fowler, president of the Charlottesville, Virginia, branch crowns Mrs. Virginia Carrington as "Miss NAACP" 1954 for bringing in the largest number of members during the branch membership drive. Of the 1,000 members added, Mrs. Carrington brought in 180. Membership-drive chairman Eugene Williams is at left.*

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Life Members

Hereunder are set the names of those who have become Life Members of the NAACP, as well as those who have made initial payments on their Life Memberships during March and April

PAID IN FULL LIFE MEMBERS

Mansion C. Hall, Bakersfield, California

A. Maceo Smith, Dallas, Texas (Given by Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity for Mr. Smith)

INITIAL PAYMENTS

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, New York City

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Gerri Major, New York City

North Jersey Chapter of Links, Inc. (Jersey City, N. J.)

Mr. and Mrs. George Gordon, Springfield, Massachusetts

PLEDGED LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

Elwood McKenney, Newton, Massachusetts

The following members of the National Funeral Directors Association at their convention held in Hot Springs, Arkansas:

B. J. McFall, Detroit, Michigan

John Joy Jones, Texarkana, Texas

D. W. Jordan, West Helena, Arkansas

W. K. Jarrett, Arkansas

Charles H. Chew, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

F. H. Purnell, Texas

David Lane, Brooklyn, New York

H. D. Wilson, Shreveport, Louisiana

R. N. Horton, Washington, D.C.

N. J. Ford, Memphis, Tennessee

J. F. Brittenun, Holly Springs, Mississippi

S. C. Franks, Greenville, South Carolina

J. C. Brown, Okmulgee, Oklahoma

L. D. Dorsey, Marlin, Texas

E. D. Killingsworth, Little Rock, Arkansas

Charles Latimor, Madison, Arkansas

James R. Weatherly, York, Alabama

Austin Sumbrey, Phoenix City, Alabama

L. S. White, Longview, Texas

Thomas Frazier, Washington, D.C.

J. O. Clay, Forrest City, Arkansas

Mrs. Vira M. Hawkins, Lexington, Kentucky

Mrs. Amelia Jackson, St. Louis, Missouri

Mrs. Birdia Beal Anderson, St. Louis, Missouri

Mrs. E. L. Lewis, Alexandria, Louisiana
James L. Perkins, New York City
W. E. Shortridge, Birmingham, Alabama
Annie T. Hawkins, Lexington, Kentucky
Hiawatha Studdard, Birmingham, Alabama
Arthur Lee Sumbrey, Phoenix City, Alabama

(Board and Life Member Dr. J. Leonard Leach was responsible for getting members of the National Funeral Directors Association to pledge these NAACP Life Memberships.)

PLEASE DO NOT MISS
THIS CONVENTION HIGHLIGHT

One of the big features of the 45th ANNUAL NAACP CONVENTION at DALLAS, TEXAS, JUNE 29 - JULY 4, will be the Freedom Campaign Report Dinner on THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 1st, at the CASA LINDA LODGE on the outskirts of Dallas.

It will be an evening of awards and reports on progress toward the 1954 goal of the Freedom Fund Campaign. Branches, states, and regions will give their totals for the first six months of the year. There will be awards to outstanding branches.

There will be a ranch style dinner and, altogether, it promises to be one of the highlights of the DALLAS CONVENTON.

DALLAS, TEXAS

June 29-July 1

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

KANSAS CITY

Swimming Pool Opened: The City of Kansas City, Missouri, announced in April the reopening of the Swope Swimming Pool on a non-segregated basis on June 12.

The pool, which is owned and operated by the city, has been closed for two years because of a court decision ordering the park officials to admit Negroes.

The decision of the officials of Kansas City ends a two-year legal battle involving Kansas City, the Kansas City Park Commission, and lawyers of the NAACP legal defense and educational fund.

Kansas City's decision to reopen the Swope Swimming Pool on a non-segregated basis is the result of a case instituted in 1950 by Mrs. Esther Williams, Mrs. Lena R. Smith, and Joseph Moore, all members of the Kansas City branch of the NAACP, following a refusal of park officials to admit them to the pools in the elaborate Swope Park.

Previously, Kansas City operated three outdoor pools on a segregated basis. One was set aside for Negroes in the heart of the Negro area, while the other two pools were reserved for whites. The Swope Park Pool consists of three sections, a large one for swimming, a large one for diving only, a small one for wading, and elaborate beach facilities surrounded by other park features.

When the case first came up for trial on January 15, 1952, the City of Kansas and its Board of Park Commissioners maintained that they had a right to segregate the races under the "separate but equal doctrine." However, upon cross-examination by legal defense lawyers, a member of the Park Commission admitted that he did not know of any ordinance, rule, or regulation requiring separation of the races. Exclusion of Negroes from the elaborate Swope Park Swimming Pools was the usual custom and practice and it was the intention of the board to retain this practice, he added.

Defense attorneys for the plaintiffs argued that Negroes had the right to use the facilities of any municipal pool without regard to race or color and are subject to the same rules and regulations as are applied to all other citizens.

The court found that the swimming pool set aside for the use of Negroes was not only inferior in character, but also in location and facilities,

to those maintained for whites. The judge held that Kansas City violated the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by denying Negroes admission to the Swope Park Swimming Pools.

The city officials appealed the decision to the Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld the lower court's ruling. The case was then taken to the United States Supreme Court and on October 15, 1953, at the opening of its new term, the high court refused to review the appeal, thereby upholding the lower court's ban against racial segregation in the city's swimming pool.

The city's decision to reopen the Swope Park Swimming Pool on a non-segregated basis was received by the Kansas City branch of the NAACP as a major victory in its fight to obtain equal rights for Negro citizens.

NAACP legal defense attorneys arguing the case for Williams, Smith, and Moore were Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of legal defense and Robert L. Carter, assistant counsel, both of New York, and Carl Johnson assisted by Almar T. Adair, both of Kansas City, Missouri.

WILLIAM PICKENS

Pickens Mourned: William Pickens, former NAACP official, died at sea aboard the S. S. Mauretania on April 6 off Kingston, Jamaica. He was buried at sea. Death struck as he was returning from a Caribbean cruise with his wife, Mrs. Minnie Pickens.

Informed of the death of his former associate, Walter White said that "American democracy has lost a valued fighter in the death of Dean Pickens."

Dean Pickens was field secretary and director of branches of the NAACP from 1920 through 1942 when the United States Treasury Department sought his aid in the promotion of the sale of war bonds.

In paying tribute to Dean Pickens, Mr. White called him "a brilliant scholar and one of the most skillful orators America has produced. The fight for democracy, to which he contributed so greatly, is the loser by his passing."

Born in South Carolina, January 15, 1881, Mr. Pickens was educated at Talladega College and Yale University where he won the coveted Phi Beta Kappa key. He taught at Talladega and later served as dean at Morgan College in Baltimore. He was author of "The Heir of Slaves," an autobiography, and other works. In addition to Mrs. Pickens, he is survived by a son, William, Jr., two daughters, Harriet Pickens and Mrs. Ruby Holbrook, and two grandchildren.

MISCELLANEOUS

Atlanta: An all-white jury in Atlanta in March returned a verdict of "not guilty" in the trial of Willie Nash, a Negro charged with slaying a white shoe repairman last November 4. During the heated five-day trial, NAACP defense attorneys Donald Hollwell and Arthur Combs of Atlanta introduced evidence to show that Willie Nash could not have been at the

scene of the crime. Several members of his family testified that Mr. Nash was at home when the murder took place.

Marvin Lindsey, the victim, was slain with an iron pipe as he sat in an automobile with a woman companion in a secluded section of Atlanta. Willie Nash had been in jail since November 8, 1953, when he was picked up at his home by homicide squad detectives. His wife and five children were present at the trial, which ended March 27.

Muskegon, Michigan: As the result of an intensive campaign conducted jointly by the local NAACP branch, the CIO, and the United Automobile Workers (CIO), eight restaurants in Muskegon which formerly turned away Negro patrons are now serving them. Herbert Hill, NAACP labor relations assistant, spearheaded the drive.

Christmas Seals: The NAACP realized more than $52,000 from the sale of NAACP Christmas Seals, according to Bobbie Branche who has directed this annual campaign for the second consecutive year.

The new 1953 figure represents an increase of more than $14,000 over the previous high of $38,000 collected for the sale of the 1952 seals.

The sum of $27,000 was collected in response to a nationwide mailing. The West Coast Region with 59 branches in seven states collected a total of $15,600. Recently, in New York, Franklin H. Williams, regional secretary-counsel, presented a check to Walter White, executive secretary, for the sum collected from the sale of these seals in the West Coast area.

An additional sum of $8,600 was raised by 345 other branches of the Association. Miss Branche anticipates that unreported collections by the branches will bring the total income from this source up to a minimum of $55,000.

New Branches: The NAACP has chartered 31 new units in all parts of the country since January 1, 1954, according to director of branches Gloster Current.

The new units are as follows: 15 branches, 10 youth councils, 3 college chapters, and 3 authorized committees. This brings to a total of 1,281 the number of NAACP units throughout the United States.

Mr. Current explains an "authorized committee" as a group of NAACP members numbering more than 7, but which is numerically too small to be chartered as an NAACP branch, which requires a minimum of 50 members.

The new college chapters are at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York; Bluefield State College, Bluefield, West Virginia; and Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

New youth councils have been chartered in Mamaroneck and Central Long Island, New York; Bowling Green, Kentucky; Saluda, South Carolina; Merrimac Valley, Massachusetts; Vance County, North Carolina; Palo Alto, California; Liberty County, Georgia; Little Rock, Arkansas; and Charleston, West Virginia.

The 15 new branches are in Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Blythewood, South Carolina; Carbondale and Madison, Illinois; Marion, Indiana; Pointe

Coupee Parish, Louisiana; Lower Halifax and Gates counties, and Sheffield Township, North Carolina; and Norfolk County, Virginia.

The three authorized committees are in Aqua Fria, Arizona; South Shore, New York; and Sullivan County, New York.

Hanover, Indiana: The board of trustees of lily-white Hanover College in Hanover has been challnged to end the present ban against Negro students and to establish admission policies consistent with their professed Christian beliefs. Hanover is a college affiliated with the Presbyterian church.

Herbert L. Wright, NAACP youth director, in addressing a joint student-faculty assembly at the college recently pointed out that Hanover College is far behind many other church-related colleges, universities, and high schools in the South which have already voluntarily opened their doors to all academically-qualified applicants.

THESE SMILING YOUNGSTERS *of the San Antonio, Texas, youth council have temporarily laid aside the problem of civil rights to enjoy themselves at their evening social.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The Fight for Freedom rally held at the Oakland Arena, OAKLAND, on March 28 attracted more than 15,000 people. This meeting marked the formal launching of the Fight for Freedom campaign on the West Coast. March 28 was observed throughout northern California as "Freedom Sunday" and an official proclamation to that effect was issued by Governor Goodwin Knight, Mayor Elmer Robinson of San Francisco, Mayor Clifford Rishell of Oakland, and Mayor Laurence Cross of Berkeley. More than $2,500 was raised at the rally. The San Francisco branch also published the second issue of its newspaper, *Freedom Journal.*

The SAN FRANCISCO branch has published a throw-a-way warning branch members to "Keep your Eyes Wide Open: Don't Get Sucked In!" "These groups, organizations and publications," says the leafleat, "are attempting to mislead the Negro community: California Labor School, Civil Rights Congress (CRC), (National) Negro Labor Council, The Militant (newspaper), People's World (newspaper), Political Affairs (magazine)."

Officials of the LAS VEGAS branch announced in March that the scheduled September conference of the Western Region of the American Public Welfare Association has been definitely cancelled following NAACP charges against jim-crow practices in Las Vegas. The NAACP charged that segregated housing and eating facilities were being set up for Negro delegates to the Las Vegas conference.

Connecticut: The March membership meeting of the HARTFORD branch was highlighted by a talk on civil rights in Connecticut given by the state representative, Gertrude Kosskoff of Plainville, Connecticut. Mrs. Kosskoff stated that despite the fact that we have civil legislation on the statute books there is still much work to be done before all segments of our population enjoy equal rights.

Vasco Hale, branch president, and Atty. Norman Bernstein, chairman of the legal redress committee, were delegates in attendance at the Freedom Rally in Washington on March 10. On March 21 the branch presented a forum on "Social Reform—Now or Tomorrow" at the Central Baptist church in Hartford.

Illinois: Mayor and city officials were charged with taking a complacent attitude towards the outbreaks of violence in the Trumball Park Homes area by Willoughby Abner, chairman of the executive committee of the CHICAGO branch.

Almost 1,500 people were in the audience that heard Abner give a review of the Trumball Park situation and housing problems facing Negroes and other minorities in Chicago. He was sharply critical of the police for their failure to disperse and arrest participants in the riotous anti-Negro actions that have repeatedly occured at the Trumball Park Homes since last July when the first Negro family moved into the project.

Mrs. Cora Patton, president of the Chicago branch, stated: "The state-

ment of the mayor coupled with the earlier g:t tough order to the police answers in part our demand for a strong statement by the mayor. The statement should have been more specific and firmer. While violence has apparently ceased at the Trumball Park Homes the violence against Negro families moving into new areas is now spreading to other sections of the city, to Rossmoor and now to the west side."

A "Salute to the Press" and observance of Negro newspaper week was the educational feature of the March membership campaign of the Chicago branch. Representatives of the press participated in a panel discussion of the history, role in the community, and future prospects of the Negro newspaper in America.

Roy Wilkins was the featured speaker at NAACP Sunday in JOLIET on March 14.

Iowa: The kick-off pot-luck dinner for the membership drive of the DES MOINES branch was held at the Crocker branch YMCA on April 6. Ten teams, ten captains, twenty lieutenants with five workers each, are working in the drive. Mrs. C. Lorraine Collins is co-chairman of the campaign; Mrs. Guy Greene, secretary; and Mrs. Herschel Hubbard, assistant secretary. The finance committee is J. B. Morris, Jr., Guy Greene, Clifford Bayles, W. C. Buice, and A. P. Trotter.

Kentucky: Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau, was keynote speaker at the midwest regional training conference held in LOUISVILLE on April 2. Edward Dudley, director of the fighting fund for freedom, spoke at the fight for freedom banquet held on April 3 in the Central high school cafeteria.

Florida: The Loyal Buddies of MIAMI are doing their share to help the Florida state conference and the Miami branch reach its financial quota. The group is understaking to raise $1,000 for the fighting fund in 1954 and their first effort was a cabaret dance and floor show held at Cafe Society on April 8.

Massachusetts: The SPRINGFIELD branch issues a lively and well-gotten up "N.A.A.C.P. News." Annual membership campaign of the branch began on April 4. The branch voted to go on record in favor of House Bill #2270, now pending in the state legislature, designed to safeguard the rights of retarded children. The branch also voted to continue support of the Springfield Adult Educational Council in its sponsorship of the "I am an American Night."

Michigan: The SAGINAW branch reports better cooperation from the local churches and labor union, and an increase in membership. The branch educational committee is working to eliminate racial friction in one of the local junior high schools. Henry McSmith is new branch president.

The DETROIT branch sends this report on The Detroit Commission on Community Relations:

A major crisis in race relations in Detroit has evolved around the city's Commission on Community Relations since the Mayor sent his now famous letter to the Commission on January 18. Involved in this crisis have been the rejection by the mayor of two worthy candidates for the directorship of the Commission, and the abandonment of every worthwhile principle that has guided governmental agencies of this type throughout the country. The selection of John Laub by the Commission, and his subsequent approval by the Mayor for the directorship of the Commission, was by all odds the last "straw" in a series of developments between the Commission and the Mayor's office which have completely reversed the forward trend of this essential program in Detroit.

In a carefully conceived plan to fore-

stall and offset the Mayor's approval of John Laub, the president of the branch and the executive secretary appeared before a meeting of the Commission on Community Relations on February 19 and warned the Commission of the real dangers involved in the action it was about to take. The branch representatives stated further that the selection of Laub would represent "a complete departure from the pattern and conceptual framework that have been established in the professional growth of this sort of essential governmental function." Also voicing vigorous opposition to Laub were Attorney Joseph A. Craigen, a member of the branch board and also Chairman of the local chapter of the American Council on Human Rights; and Samuel J. Lieberman, member of the board and executive secretary of the East Side Merchants Association.

In spite of these protests, the Commission proceeded forthwith to select John Laub notwithstanding the fact also that several members of the Commission requested time for further study and investigation of the candidate's qualifications. The vote of the Commission on this matter is extremely significant. Eight members of the Commission, including all of the city departmental heads, C. Bradford Hitt and Isabel Wietersen voted for Laub. Four members of the Commission, in a vote against Laub voted for Robert Waldron and one member of the Commission voted for neither candidate. The only defection in the voting of the city representatives was apparently a vote cast for Waldron by L. V. Collins representing the Detroit Board of Education. This defection, in all probability, was due to the fact that the Board of Education is the only major city government agency represented on the Commission which is not under the control of the Mayor's office. Aside from this, the very obvious fact of the matter was and still is today that the Mayor, by exerting a shameful control over the activities and personnel of the Commission, is destroying the independence of the Commission itself.

It was in the face of these grave circumstances that the board of directors of the branch requested "the fair-minded liberal members of the Commission to resign forthwith in a move we hope will awaken the community to its responsibility to save the Commission itself and assure the continued progess of race relations in the city of Detroit."

Since the branch made its announcement, two members of the Commission, Herbert Dudley and James McFall have announced that they will not resign. No other members of the Commission have stated their position on the matter.

The one clear course now open to the branch is to promote as militant and aggressive a program as possible against racial discrimination and segregation in the community. This program should include a vigorous campaign for passage of a local FEPC ordnance. It should also include a carefully planned attack against discrimination in hospitals and police practices. In addition to these concentrated campaigns, every effort should be made to bring to an early conclusion the Detroit public housing case.

Through all of its work, the branch should be guided by the fact that it cannot expect any worthwhile assistance from the Commission on Community Relations as it is presently operated. This means that the Branch must assert leadership in the race relations field and maintain within its own framework the initiative for action.

Minnesota: Speakers from the joint committee on equal opportunity held a discussion on "Segregation in Housing" at the March meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. Panel participants were Joel Torstenson, professor at Augsberg college; Caroline Barron, principal of Central high school; and Charles King.

budget secretary of the community cnest and council in Hennepin county.

Robert Betram is again campaign chairman of the MILWAUKEE branch. Branch goal is 1,500 members by May 9, 1954. Division leaders sharing in the work are Mrs. Susan West, Bernard Toliver, Mrs. Minnie Townsend, and Walter Arnold. Team captains are Mrs. Etta Myers, Eddie Walker, John Junior, Arthur Mason, Mylum Kelley, Mrs. Albertine Warren, Thomas Deal, Walter Miller, Mrs. Barbara Howell, Roscoe Simpson, Mrs. Wilhelmina Hardy, Eugene Bell, and Claude Baldwin.

New York: The MOUNT VERNON branch launched its membership campaign with a kick-off breakfast at the home of President Harold Wood. The breakfast was attended by Mrs. Olive Campbell, Yonkers, national regional director; representatives of the county and Negro press; and some 20 local business men and women who helped map campaign strategy for the 1954 drive. Brief talks were made Atty. Wood and James Bryant, membership chairman.

The NEWBURGH branch reelected Mrs. Hazel Amos as president in March. Joe Louis has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the fund raising drive of the BROOKLYN branch.

Pennsylvania: A luncheon meeting attended by 20 ministers and lay leaders was sponsored by the PHILADELPHIA branch church committee in March at the Fellowship Commission Building to discuss progress made by the branch and to invite constructive criticism of its program. The meeting was led by Rosa Pitts and Rev. Leonard Carr, co-chairman of the committee. Discussion centered around procedures for making the local branch the strongest in the national branch network.

A 14-month struggle by the Philadelphia branch to have a Negro appointed to the 79th Infantry Division was successfully concluded in March when Major Ernest Fleming, central figure in the campaign, was assigned to the Schuykill Arsenal unit. Local branch effort has also resulted in the appointment of Dr. DeHaven Hinkson to the Second Army Advisory Committee, a powerful and influential body concerned with military affairs in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Virginia: The ARLINGTON branch observed M-Day (Marshall Day) on March 29 with Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, as the featured speaker. Dr. Margaret Butcher, professor of English at Howard and member of the Washington, D.C., board of education, was featured speaker at the opening membership drive meeting of the FALL CHURCH branch.

LABOR UNION DISCRIMINATION

ATTY. George N. Leighton of the Chicago, Illinois, branch reports the following case as important in the task of eradicating discrimination in AFL unions in Chicago and against Negroes in job opportunities.

The United States Supreme Court on March 8 reversed a ruling of U. S. District Judge Samuel Perry in the suit of Joseph Howard, Bernard Howard, and Paul Hugh, Negro latherers, against AF of L union, Local 74 of the Wood, Wire & Metal Latherers. The effect of this decision is to hold that the union can be sued in a U. S. District Court under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The Supreme Court of the United States in an opinion by Mr. Justice Black held that the union in its activities was engaged in interstate commerce and subject to the provisions of the Sherman Act.

Attorney George N. Leighton, who represented the plaintiffs, pointed out that this U. S. Supreme Court decision in the government's case against the union establishes the precedent that a union engaged in interstate commerce

that conspires among employers and with its members to exclude Negroes from membership and at the same time deprive Negroes of employment in the field organized by the union, is subject to the penalties of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Attorney Leighton says that the decision upholding the jurisdiction of federal courts over unions engaged in the building trades gives a far-reaching and effective weapon by which membership in the craft unions can be secured to Negroes and hence a wide field of job opportunities heretofore closed to Negroes will be opened through this judicial device.

Judge Perry had dismissed Howard's complaint on the ground that there was no showing that the defendant, Local 74, was engaged in interstate commerce, but Attorney Leighton had argued that discrimination against Negroes was part of a widespread conspiracy to monopolize interstate commerce, and that race discrimination was only one of the many facets of the union's activities.

In another case which originated in Chicago, the Supreme Court of Illinois set aside an order of the Illinois Commerce Commission that had been entered on May 14, 1952, forbidding the Illinois Central Railroad from segregating Negroes on its train "The City of New Orleans." The case was that of Vera Johnson who had been segregated when she boarded the Illinois Central's "City of New Orleans" in July 1951 for a trip from Chicago to Canton, Mississippi.

Attorney Leighton issued the following statement:

"In May 1952, assistant state's attorney Myer Goldstein, representing Vera Johnson, and attorney George N. Leighton, representing the NAACP, obtained an order from the Illinois Commerce Commission directing the Illinois Central Railroad to cease and desist from assigning passengers to specific cars in the State of Illinois in a manner which segregates passengers on the basis of race or color and further prohibited it from using car-card system assigning passengers to designated cars in the State of Illinois in a manner which segregates passengers on the basis of race or color. In its opinion of March 17 the Supreme Court of Illinois held that the Illinois Commerce Commission did not have power to issue the order because the Illinois Central Railroad was then engaged in interstate commerce.

"It is the opinion of the Attorney General of Illinois and NAACP attorneys that this case should be ultimately decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. Accordingly, such appeal will be taken.

"In the meatime, NAACP attorneys are carefully preparing an omnibus complaint before the Interstate Commerce Commission against all American railroads, including the Illinois Central Railroad, that practice race segregation on their trains. Vast amounts of evidence, data, and information will be gathered and correlated and aimed at striking a final blow against race segregation in public travel accomodations. By this unique procedure, all American railroads that practice race discrimination will be brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission."

The June and July numbers of THE CRISIS are combined in one issue, June-July, out July 1.

College and School News

Approximately seventeen percent of the total student body at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE earned averages of "B" or above during the winter quarter, according to C. S. Dabney, registrar. Three students earned straight "A" or 3-point averages. The Columbus branch of the college listed nine students on the honor roll for the winter quarter.

The Georgia Town and County Pastor's Institute, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, held its annual Institute on the Albany State campus March 8-12 under the directorship of Dr. J. A. Middleton of Morris Brown. The college was also host on March 16 to the seventh annual conference on Student Teaching.

Eleventh annual founder's day exercises were held in Caroline Hall auditorium on April 2, with President Aaron Brown presiding. Erasmus Dent was principal speaker for the occasion.

President Aaron Brown announces that Albany State has been accredited by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. President Brown represented his college March 3-6 at the Ninth National Conference on Higher Education held in Chicago, Illinois.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was host April 1-2 to the sixth annual convention of the Missouri Association of New Farmers of America.

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The two-day convention consisted of public speaking contests, lectures, contests in judging livestock and poultry, and the giving of awards.

Annual religious emphasis week was observed at the college April 12-16 with selected speakers for each morning assembly. Theme of the period was "Youth's Responsibility to God."

The second annual meeting of Missouri Sociologists will be held at Lincoln on October 2, 1954. All those interested are invited to attend.

The following honors have come to Lincoln staff members: Dean Armistead S. Pride of the school of journalism has been elected one of four members of the committee on convention and planning of the American Society of Journalism School Administrators; James Parks, head of the art department, has been elected chairman of the Missouri Art Conference for the 1954-56 term; and Loftus Carson, instructor in sociology, was recently named to the board of trustees of a community venter in Moore county, North Carolina.

■

Annual founders' week-end was observed at FLORIDA A AND M UNIVERSITY March 12-14. The institution, which attained university status September 1, 1953, opened in 1887 as the Colored Normal School and now has an enrollment of 2,038 students and nine departments.

The college reports the following visitors and speakers during the past months: Dr. Edward Hankin of Florida State university; Dr. Ina Bolton of Texas Southern university; E. Frederic Morrow of the U. S. De-

partment of Commerce; Dr. George Crawford of New Haven, Connecticut; Angela Tulosku-Metzzers of Fort Valley State college; and Dr. J. D. Avent of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, author of the words to the college alma mater song.

The college was host March 25-27 to the ninth annual state meeting of the Florida Association of New Homemakers of America. The NHA is an incorporated, non-profit youth organization sponsored by the Home Economics Education Branch of the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The skyline of Florida A and M University is rapidly changing as the institution's building program moves ahead. Under construction are a science-pharmacy building ($1,000,000), a new wing for the school of agriculture and home economics ($250,000), new wing to the Coleman Library ($400,000), and a new men's dormitory ($937,000).

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host March 26-27 to the Drama Festival for High Schools of Virginia, with twenty schools participating in the activities. The fifth annual fruit clinic was held at the college in March under the direction of Dr. W. L. Watson, head of the college department of horticulture.

Dr. Charles Stewart, pastor of the Israel AME church, Albany, New York, delivered the 72nd founder's day message at the college in March. George S. Schuyler, chief editorial writer for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, led the college forum discussion on March 22 from the subject "Politics, Population and Religion." Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, spoke at the college on April 1 as the climax to the local drive for NAACP membership.

Procedures which may increase the efficiency of new teachers coming into the public schools of Virginia were discussed at the Fourth Annual Institute for Supervisors of Cadet Teachers held at Virginia State in March.

The VSC symphonic band, with F. Nathaniel Gatlin as conductor, made a tri-state tour April 7-15 which took them to concert points in North and South Carolina, and Georgia.

■

Joseph Wood Krutch, author, drama critic, and former professor of English at Columbia University, received The John Burroughs Association Medal for 1954 in recognition of his book, *The Desert Year*. The award was presented on April 5 at an annual meeting of The John Burroughs Association in the Auditorium of THE AMERICAN MUSEUM

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OF NATURAL HISTORY (New York City).

The two great springtime religious celebrations, Easter and Passover, were inspirations for the American Museum-Hayden Planetarium sky-show, "Easter in the Heavens," April 1-25.

■

Approximately 300 people attended the two-day drama festival held at SHAW UNIVERSITY March 19-20, with the Shaw Players as guests to the visiting thespians and directors. Religious emphasis week was observed by the college March 8-12, with the Rev. Charles Jones, pastor of the Community church of Chapel Hill, conducting the services.

Shaw's honor roll for the first semester lists 52 students, including 10 freshmen, 9 sophomores, 10 juniors, and 21 seniors.

■

The ninth annual Institute on Successful Marriage was held at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE March 10-12. Featured among the participants this year were Dr. Charles R. Lawrence and Dr. Margaret M. Lawrence, husband and wife. Professor Walter R. Chivers, chairman of the department of sociology, is director of the Institute.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Moorehouse, has been selected by the readers of *Pulpit*, a religious publication, as one of the top twenty American preachers. Six months ago the editors of *Pulpit* asked its readers to nominate the contemporary American preachers whom they would like to see on its board of editorial associates and representing the preachers whose sermons they would like most

to hear. The March, 1954, issue of *Pulpit* carried the results of that poll, which included the name of Dr. Mays.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces a limited number of graduate scholarships for 1954-1955, ranging from $200 to $500, open to men and women eligible for graduate study in the Graduate Schools of Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, Education, Library Service, and Social Work. The university also announces the availability of four scholarships of $500 each and ten fellowships of $300 each (established by the Carnegie Corporation) at the Graduate School of Library Service for graduates of recognized colleges who are interested in full-time study toward the degree of Master of Science in Library Service.

Dr. Rufus Clement has been named by President Eisenhower as one of the nine corporate members of the United Service Organizations, Inc. The university was host April 8-10 to a three-day Institute on Supervision, with nationally known consultants taking part.

In connection with the celebration of National Negro Newspaper Week, the Trevor Arnett Library of Atlanta called attention of the public to its valuable collection of Negro newspapers. The Library has many rare editions of the earliest newspapers preserved on Microfilm, including

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BENEDICT COLLEGE

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the file of the first Negro newspaper that was published in America, *Freedom's Journal.*

Jean Flowers, artist of St. Louis, Missouri, has been adjudged winner of the coveted landscape prize of $250 at Atlanta's 13th annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture and prints by Negro artists.

According to registrar Paul Clifford, nine foreign students are enrolled in the gradaute and professional schools of Atlanta university this year.

■

Mrs. Leslie Swain, a former president of the American Baptist Convention, delivered the founder's day address at SPELMAN COLLEGE on April 11. Annual concert of the Spelman Glee Club was held on April 9, under the direction of Willis Laurence James.

Dr. Albert E. Manley, the former dean of the college of arts and sciences at North Carolina College at Durham, who succeeded Dr. Florence M. Read as president of Spelman, was formally inducted into that post on April 22. Representatives from colleges and universities throughout the nation attended.

■

Elsie Mallory, Spelman senior, has been elected a member of the American delegation to attend the August, 1954, meeting of the World Assembly of Youth Conference in Singapore, British Malaya.

■

Dr. T. K. Lawless, noted dermatologist of Chicago, Illinois, has been elected chairman of the TALLADEGA COLLEGE trustee board. He replaces Atty. George Crawford of New

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Haven, Connecticut, who now becomes trustee emeritus following his resignation after fifty years of service.

Nine Talladega psychology majors and their professor made a field-study trip March 6-21 to various points in the Central West. Seven modern language students made a sixteen-day off-campus study tour of Mexico March 29-April 6.

■

Dr. Samuel Massie, chairman of the department of chemistry at FISK UNIVERSITY, was selected to serve on a symposium with six outstanding teachers in the field of college chemistry on March 30 at the national meeting of the American Chemical Society held in Kansas City, Missouri

The Fisk Jubilee Singers under direction of John W. Work were invited guest artists at the Music Educators National Conference held in Chicago, Illinois, March 26-31.

President Johnson recently received a letter from Philip D. Adler, publisher of the *Daily Times*, Davenport, Iowa, accompanied by a check for $425 as "a special contribution toward the education of deserving Negro students in your school," which is best explained in the words of the letter:

"There is a story behind this contribution which I think you should know. A number of years ago, my father, E. P. Adler, publisher of the *Davenport Times* until his death in 1949, lent money to one of the outstanding graduates of Davenport High School, Lawrence J. Howell, a Negro boy. Howell was an exceptional student and made an excellent record in Davenport High School and he used these funds for higher education.

"In recent years, Howell has secured a fine position with the Atomic Energy Commission as a scientist, so he sent to me, the son of E. P. Adler, the money advanced him for his education. I, in turn, told Howell that I felt the money he had returned to me should be sent for the same purpose that he received it, education of Negroes in higher schools. So, I divided the funds between your school and Piney Woods School (Piney Woods, Miss.)."

In commenting on the gift, president Johnson said, "It is what we like to regard as youth at its best when a loan on faith is returned in full after the student completed his education and began his career in science."

■

TWO MORGAN STATE COLLEGE professors, Doctors Thomas Fraser and Cleveland Franks, were on the programs of the national conventions of the National Association for Re-

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search in Science Teaching and the National Science Teachers Association. Both conventions were held in Chicago during the week of March 29-April 5.

■

Fifty-six students at DILLARD UNIVERSITY qualified for the honor roll at the end of the first semester for 1953-54. The registrar says that the students, who represents almost ten percent of the total enrollment, are from Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Louisiana, Ohio, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, and Nigeria, West Africa.

■

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE celebrated its 79th anniversary March 19-21, with Dr. Carol Cotton Bowie, a Knoxville graduate, as featured speaker.

■

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISON NEWS reports that the Federal Communications Commission recently allocated five additional ETV channels, bringing to 250 the nation's total of noncommerical television reservations. New EVT channels are Cookville, Tennessee, Channel 69; Crossville, Tennessee, Channel 77; Lexington, Tennessee, Channel 11; Sneedville, Tennessee, Channel 2; and Munford, Alabama, Channel 7.

■

Vocational emphasis week was observed at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE March 17-21, with special speeches and group discussions. Marian Anderson was featured in a concert at the college on March 26.

Dr. Edwin B. Henderson of Fairfax, Virginia, has been selected by the faculty and board of trustees of HOWARD UNIVERSITY to receive an alumni award for distinguished postgraduate achievement in education. Dr. Henderson has also been elected a fellow in the American Association for Health and Physical Education for 1954.

■

A job opportunities conference was held at Morgan April 1-2. The first of its kind, the conference was jointly sponsored by Delta Sigma Theta sorority, Eastern Region, the Urban League, and student organizations at Morgan.

Dr. Mortimer J. Adler, former University of Chicago professor, was a recent assembly speaker at the college. His subject was "The Future of Democracy."

A recent conference of high school and college teachers of English held at Morgan discussed the rapidly increasing inability of American youth to read, write or speak "decent English." Seventy-one persons, representing twenty-eight high schools throughout the state and the Morgan department of English, agreed as a unit that the need for communication skills is greater today than ever before and that the best way to meet the challenge is through a more active understanding and cooperation between high school and college teachers of English.

■

The 67th anniversary and 7th charter day celebration at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE featured M. C. Clarke, Cleveland business executive,

and John Dancy, Detroit Urban League director, as speakers.

■

The general alumni association of WILLIAM PENN BUSINESS INSTITUTE has announced that it will award a term scholarship to a high ranking graduate during commencement in August. The $185 grant, to be effective in September, is being offered on a competitive basis to June, 1954, graduates of the Philadelphia public and parochial school systems.

■

The 28th Annual Homemaking Institute of BENNETT COLLEGE was held March 28-April 2 on the theme "The Nation's Most Precious Resource — Its Children."

■

A. M. AND N. COLLEGE at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, celebrated its 81st founder's day April 4-11 with an open-house for the public. The keynote address was made by Dr. George Snowden, minority group housing administrator, FHA, Washington, D. C.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) celebrated its centennial charter day convocation April 29, with a Centennial Social Science Conference.

THE NEW $317,247 *addition to Pinn Hall, male residence dormitory at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE, will be dedicated at the June commencement.*

Book Review

AFRICAN PROBLEMS

Struggle For Africa. **By Vernon Bartlett. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1953. IX+246pp. $3.95.**

It took the second World War to bring to a positive climax the rumbles of independence in Asia that began after the first world conflict, and since 1945 Africa has shown similar signs of "independence" restlessness. Today there is no longer a struggle *for* Africa —it was divided among European powers long ago—but instead, a struggle *by* Africans *in* Africa for freedom.

Although the author, an English ex-League of Nations official-journalist-member of Parliament, says, "This is not a book for the expert," yet probably for the first time he has pointed up the current situation in Africa in language so clear, in coverage so complete, and in a tone so temperate and objective, that one cannot help but recommend the volume as *must* reading for anyone interested in learning about the place of Africa in the world today.

Reading it with an eye on news reports of the day—of elections in the Sudan, Central African Federation, the explosive Mau Mau conflict in Kenya, the French confusion in North Africa, the political metamorphosis in British West Africa, the Belgian "progressive" policy in the Congo, and Malan's Negrophobic "apartheid" policy in the Union of South Africa—one is astonished at the tremendous momentary currency of all Mr. Bartlett records. The motives inherent in all these situations are composed of many diverse elements but may be summarized as follows: A strong demand in some areas for maintenance of the white man's absolute domination, typified by the ruthless racialism of the Union of South Africa. Acceptance of the fact in others that Africa is a black man's country, well demonstrated by the political revolutions going on in West Africa. And in still others, an attempt to develop a harmonious relationship based on the principle that the African, Indian, and European are all equally essential to each other and to the prosperity of the country, as in Tanganyika. These elements are so detailed that as the author literally traverses the continent we see many different attitudes towards the African. "The absence of a color bar in Egypt and the Portuguese colonies; the assimilation policy of the French; the defensive oppression by the Afrikaners; the 'creative imperial abdication' of the British Colonial Office; the managerial revolution of the Belgians." Even America's belated entry on the African scene is evaluated, as she tries to aid Liberia emerge from backwardness, bring new life to Ethiopia, and help wherever she can without accentuating the difficulties of those with prior claims who are now about to lose them.

Mr. Bartlett writes with great comprehension of a problem of the magnitude presented by an Africa in flux today, and he interprets with depth and feeling the whole situation in a manner

that is unparalleled in any book extant on Africa up to this time. He portrays the paradoxes, pathos, and passion there. Emphasizes the tenacity of color prejudice as a disturbing fact that makes cooperation and problem solving so difficult. Rightly points out that it is the urbanized African who furnishes the main opposition to defenders of the status quo. Reveals that the Greeks are a little known but an important factor in East Africa; that the Indian has made himself indispensable because he "does all the jobs that are beneath the dignity of the European and above the ability of the African." He underlines that the chief need of the whites is to change their outlook toward Africans, "for enough of them have now proved their ability, intelligence, and integrity to make an attitude of patriarchal superiority both absurd and dangerous." And he constructively advises the black man to recognize that there can be

> little hope of genuine partnership until the Africans learn something about the nature of civilization; that it does not consist in the acquisition of enough book knowledge to hold down a job in an office; that it is the development of decades or centuries; that its roots must go deep into the land, the history, the traditions of a country; that it cannot be grabbed ready-made from people of another race and continent . . . it is, in the first place a question of agricultural equipment, of harvests, of a rising standard of life, and, above all, of education in manual work. Democracy is the tilling of the soil, the fight against erosion, the willingness to learn new techniques.

The author paints this African portrait in bold colors as he moves about the Dark Continent describing the varying economic, political, religious, and social conditions of Africans in relation to Europeans and other non-Africans. He highlights the harm Christianity has done, with its confusing policy due to innumerable sects vying for converts, as well as applauds its positive results. He helps to recall the lost Italians—one has almost forgotten they were once a power in Africa—in wondering whether Malan can learn from Mussolini that brutality and suppression do not pay. He indicates that in Africa where the Arab is found he is a nonentity, although antedating almost all other outsiders, and underscores a most unique situation in Uganda—"a black man's country"—where "it is generally the Hindus who are politically active and discontented."

No book is perfect. Yet so minor are the errors the author commits—"The absence of an African history must always remain a mystery" or in referring to the Union of South Africa "with so much lawlessness about, the insistence on the Pass Law is understandable"—that these defects detract not in the least from this admirable and helpful volume. Mr. Bartlett's command and insight of all he surveys is strikingly and prophetically displayed in his comment on the predicament of those fast losing control of Africa's destiny: "But at the back of all these policies is the realization that the black man is awaking from a sleep as long as history, and there is a flavor of Lilliput about our efforts to cope with him." This is undoubtedly the best popular text on African contemporary affairs available today. Mr. Bartlett has made a real contribution at a time when it is sorely needed, not only to the literature of international relations, but to human understanding as well, and the book is worthy of the highest recommendation.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

"LITTLE KNOWN FACTS"

***South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900.* By George Brown Tindall. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1952. pp. XII+336pp. $5.00.**

Easily the most neglected period in the history of American Negroes has been the crucial years of transition from the fall of the Reconstruction governments in the early 1870's to the rise of Booker T. Washington to national prominence at the close of the nineteenth century. It was a period of constantly worsening conditions for southern Negroes, marked by increasing disfranchisement: first by intimidation and fraud and later by constitutional amendments; by the rise of segregation: first by custom and then by successive legal enactments; and by the rise of the lynching mania. Tindall traces these and other developments, filling in important gaps in our knowledge of the period.

Following in the footsteps of A. A. Taylor's and Vernon L. Wharton's books on Reconstruction and its aftermath in South Carolina and Mississippi, Tindall carefully and methodically tells the story of Negro life in South Carolina during the dreary quarter century following the restoration of Democratic party rule in the state. In carefully documented chapters he tells of political, economic, and social conditions, of the church and of education, of migration and race relations, of sharecropping, lynchings and prison life. Here we read of the evils of the convict lease system, and of the origins of the chain gang which was substituted for it. Yet all is not unpleasant. There is the hopeful story of educational advancement. In one of his most interesting chapters Tindall tells of the six colored men who sat in the Constitutional Convention of 1895 and heroically, though unsuccessfully, fought to stem the tide of disfranchisement. The author has also uncovered many unknown, or little known facts. It may surprise many to learn for example that Negroes held political office in the South Carolina legislature as late as 1900; that many of the Negro legislators in the period covered by the book were Democrats; that there was considerable interest in migration to Liberia, especially in the late 70's; and that Negroes enjoyed unsegregated transportation facilities as late as the 1890's.

The author is one of the small but growing number of southern white scholars who are coming to treat the history of Negroes with understanding and objectivity. Though occasionally marred by such unfortunate phrases as "The Negro penchant for migration which became notorious after the Civil War," (p. 153), on the whole the book is notable for its fairness and historical detachment. And so, while stylistically undistinguished, the book is a valuable contribution to the history of the period.

AUGUST MEIER

***Africa: The Racial Issue.* Edited by Joan Coyne Maclean. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1954. 198pp. $1.75.**

As Joan Coyne Maclean points out in her introduction, this once dark continent of Africa has become an area of volcanic political, economic, and social forces. Some 150 million Africans, speaking dozens of languages and belonging to hundreds of tribes are fighting for racial equality, for independence, for nationalism.

To show why these once docile natives have begun to revolt so furiously against the status quo of their white rulers, Miss Maclean has selected articles by experts who in her opinion have reported most completely and intelligently on British East Africa, The Union of South Africa, and The Belgian Congo and French Africa.

Miss Maclean's writers give objective interpretations of the Mau Mau, and the forces behind Malan. They explain the Central African Federation and the approaches to self-government on the Gold Coast and among the followers of Islam in Western Africa.

Some of the articles reprinted are the *Saturday Review's* "The Mau Mau: An African's View"; *West African Review's* "The Task of the Educator in Africa"; *Life's* "I Speak for the African"; *Saturday Review's* "Self-Government on Trial"; and the *New York Times'* "French in Africa Assimilate Negro." Special introductions explain the background of each important issue.

In general, *Africa: The Racial Issue* charts its course by three points: (1) Schweitzer's patient reminder to his African charges that the whites have brought them education, greater prosperity, and an end of intertribal wars; (2) the African's bitter comment "When the Europeans came we had the land; they had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and they have the land," and (3) the peacemaker's "You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both black and white."

Africa: The Racial Issue is Volume XXVI, No. 1, in H. W. Wilson's "The Reference Shelf," which serves as a public forum presenting articles on timely controversial questions.

***Empire by Mandate: A History of the Relations of Great Britain with the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.* By Campbell L. Upthegrove. New York: Bookman Associates, 1954. 239 pp. $3.50.**

The system of mandates was an attempt at solution of the colonial problem following World War I. German colonies were distributed among Great Britain, France, and Japan under the control of a Mandates Commission which was supposed to see that the people of these colonies were fairly treated and that something be done for their uplift. But because of the limited power of the Mandates Commission, mandated colonies soon became indistinguishable from the other colonies of the countries holding the mandates.

"Therefore it is clear," explains Mr. Upthegrove, "why the mandate principle was said to have been borrowed from British colonial practice. Roughly speaking, British colonial practice was to be internationalized."

Empire By Mandate, obviously a Ph.D. dissertation, discusses Great Britain's administration of Tanganyika, Nauru, British Togoland and the British Cameroons, Iraq, and Palestine. While the book offers pertinent material for the specialist, it is dryasdust reading for the layman.

***The South African Way of Life: Values and Ideals of a Multi-racial Society.* Edited by G. H. Calpin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. IX+200pp. 15pp. Illustrations. $3.50**

This book was written at the request of UNESCO and is designed to give the reader a factual account of South African society. David Marquard opens the study with a chapter on the general historical background; Dr. S. J. du Toit writes on "The Afrikaans-Speaking Section" (composed of Dutch and other early European settlers); Ronald Currey, on "The English-Speaking Section" (people who came later, mostly during the gold rush of 1886); Phyllis Lewsen, on "The South-African Jewish Community" (which came primarily from Eastern Europe in the 1880's); Selby Bangani Ngcobo, on "The Bantu Peoples" (the largest ethnic group); George J. Golding and Franklin Pybus Joshua, on "The Coloured Community" (peoples of mixed racial origin); and G. H. Calpin, on "The Indian Community" (Indians who came as indentured laborers for the sugar plantations in the 1860's).

The four remaining chapters analyze South African education (Dr. O. D. Wollheim), political institutions (Mark

Fiennes Prestwich), political parties and trends (René de Villiers), and economic factors (Jan Goudriaan and D. G. Franzsen). The concluding chapter, "Quo Vadis?", on possible solutions to South Africa's racial problems is by David Marquard.

The South African Way of Life is full of very important facts about this African nation of "11,000,000 people of four different cultural origins, speaking a dozen different languages, and on every rung of the ladder of literacy and civilization."

***The Miracle of Language.* By Charlton Laird. Cleveland & New York: The World Publishing Company, 1953. XII+308pp. $4.00.**

Professor Laird's book is not a study in linguistic science but an intimately warm portrait of the English language from the Anglo-Saxon of the 12th century down to the American Language of the Atomic Age. There are chapters on word-borrowing, meaning, pronunciation, the English verb, the dictionary, and English grammar.

KENYA REPORT

(*Continued from page* 277)

will be up to the Governor to grant them amnesty. Yet even this will not be enough to restore the status quo ante.

The British Government will have to give the Africans an irrevocable guarantee that they intend to open the Highlands to landless Kikuyus, abolish the color bar, reopen the Independent schools, and expand educational facilities, pay Africans in the civil service equal pay for equal work, and recognise the principle of party in representation in local and central councils for government. For unless African leaders are armed with these assurances, which will enable them to offer their people something concrete by way of a better future, even the most trusted among them will be unable to bring about that psychological change which alone can help to bridge the present gulf between the Europeans and the Africans, the rulers and the ruled, without which there is no hope of cordial race relations in Africa—the prerequisite of political partnership.

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 286)

American Nurses' Association. The article was written by Mary Ella Chayer, former professor of nursing at Teachers College, Columbia University. . . .

The New York State Commission Against Discrimination reports that the twin forces of law and education have joined hands to break down the barriers to equality of employment and in places of public accommodation. . . . Baltimore, Maryland, hotel operators have refused to lift their restrictions against Negro patrons—they even refused to make exceptions for the Negro members of Baltimore's new American League baseball team and for Negroes on visiting teams. . . . Col. John C. Robinson, veteran aviator who flew for Ethiopia during the Italo-Ethiopian War, died in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, of injuries from a plane crash. . . . Some 3,000 different languages are spoken in the world today and the number is steadily increasing, accord-

ing to the new issue of UNESCO *Courier*. Of the 13 major languages, Chinese (all dialects) leads the list, being spoken by an estimated 450 million; followed by English, 250 million; Hindi-Urdu, 160 million; Russian, 140 million; Spanish, 110 million; German, 100 million; Japanese, 80 million; French, 75 million; Malay, 60 million; Bengali, 60 million; Portuguese, 55 million; Italian, 55 million; and Arabic, 50 million. . . . Both *America*, national Catholic weekly review, and the *Interracial Review* editorially condemned the refusal of the Cleveland, Ohio, Knights of Columbus to welcome their colored Catholic brethern. . . . Both journals view the action as a "nation-wide scandal."

BROTHERHOOD IN SOUTH

(*Continued from page* 271)

believer in segregation, convinced that, Negroes were inferior to whites.

Yet today there is new hope for the Negro. Negro voting has increased 300 percent in the South despite a declinig Negro population. Schools are being built. Representatives of Negro groups are being named to various civic boards such as Red Cross, Community Fund, etc. Negroes are permitted to attend certain white universities. Social intermingling, and real fellowship, however, may have to wait. At a recent community board meeting, the banker chairman addressed a question to a Negro board member, calling her by her first name, which is the manner in which colored folk are addressed in the South. "I would prefer that you call me Mrs. Johnson," she said quietly. "But I call my cook by her first name," the banker replied. "I'm not your cook!" she retorted.

POOR WHITES

Many years of prejudice must be overcome. Educated Southerners are attempting to solve the problem, but the influence of the poor whites handicaps even the best efforts. Most of the friction occurs between these poor whites and the Negroes. I sympathize with Southerners who resent those Northerners who try to tell the South how to run their section of the country. Many Southerners maintain that the Negroes' poor economic condition is a direct consequence of the Civil War, and place full blame on the North, pointing to the economic destruction of the South which followed the war between the States. But a new industrial era is opening up in the South. This means more money for the lower income Negro and White, assuring better housing, better education, better medical services, and more freedom. The barriers of segregation are being undermined by democratic economic and social progress.

Regardless of the cause of the Negroes' plight, I can't help but feel that the solution of the problem really lies within the soul of each white man in the South. Unless man measures his racial attitudes with the highest goals of democracy and human fellowships, he cannot see his true relationship to those of different colored skins. Still, I have seen that a new day of brotherhood in the deep South is surely coming, and I'm proud of my Southern friends because of it.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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